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FROM WASHINGTON

TO AIG 6006

AIG 6007

NATO CONFIDENTIAL FROM WASHINGTON

SUBJECT: INR REPORT NO. 436: 11TH BULGARIAN PARTY CONG-

-- RESS: ZHIVKOV TRIMS HIS TEAM

1. THE 11TH BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS, MARCH 29-
APRIL 2, WENT OFF GENERALLY AS EXPECTED WITH NO CHANGE IN
POLICY AND WITH PROFUSE DECLARATIONS OF LOYALTY TO MOSCOW.
THERE WERE SEVERAL UNEXPECTED DISMISSALS, HOWEVER, WHICH
TRIMMED THE PARTY HIERARCHY.

2. MORE OF THE SAME: THE 11TH CONGRESS, LIKE ITS 1971
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PREDECESSOR, WAS ON THE WHOLE A PROSAIC, RUBBERSTAMP AF-

FAIR. IT WAS CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED BY TODOR ZHIVKOV WHO, AS FIRST SECRETARY OF THE BULGARIAN PARTY SINCE 1954, CONTINUES AS DOYEN OF THE WARSAW PACT LEADERS. ZHIVKOV HAILED THE VICTORIES OF BULGARIA'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES AND INCLUDED AMONG HIS PAEANS OF PRAISE TO MOSCOW THE PHRASE "CONTEMPORARY BULGARIA IS RED DOWN TO THE LAST DROP OF BLOOD." IN RESPONSE, THE "CULT OF ZHIVKOV" AT THE CONGRESS APPEARED STRONGER AND MORE PERVASIVE THAN EVER.

2. CONTINUITY OF POLICY: THE BASIC GUIDELINES FOR DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE SEVENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1976/80) PRESENTED BY PREMIER STANKO TODOROV, WERE ADOPTED WITH EMPHASIS ON THE SAME SECTORS AND THE SAME GROWTH RATES AS IN THE PREVIOUS PLAN. THE GUIDELINES CALL FOR FURTHER INTEGRATION OF THE BULGARIAN ECONOMY WITH THAT OF THE USSR AND WITHIN THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE (CEMA). LIKE THE USSR'S 10TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN, THE BASIC EMPHASIS IS "EFFICIENCY AND QUALITY, QUALITY AND EFFICIENCY." ADOPTED ALSO WERE THESES ON IMPROVING THE STANDARD OF LIVING, REJUVENATING SCIENTIFIC CADRES TO ENHANCE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, AND STRENGTHENING THE PARTY'S ROLE AND EFFECTIVENESS TO COUNTER PREVAILING APATHY, ESPECIALLY AMONG BULGARIA'S YOUTH.

3. SOME UNEXPECTED DISMISSALS: THE TURNOVER IN THE HIERARCHY -- WHILE IN NO WAY COMPARABLE TO THE MAJOR SHAKEUP DECREED BY THE JULY 1974 CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM -- REDUCED THE SIZE OF THE POLITBURO AND THE SECRETARIAT (SEE APPENDIX). FULL MEMBERSHIP IN THE POLITBURO DECLINED FROM 12 TO 9; THE SECRETARIAT WAS REDUCED FROM 12 TO 10. (THE INCUMBENT POLITBURO CANDIDATE-MEMBERS AND THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL-AUDITING COMMISSION WERE REELECTED IN TOTAL.) THE REDUCTION WAS EXPLAINED IN TERMS OF MORE "EFFICIENCY" IN VOTING, RAISING THE POSSIBILITY THAT THOSE REMOVED MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN IN COMPLETE SYMPATHY WITH MAJORITY DECISIONS.

UPON EXAMINATION, THE CHANGES SEEMED DICTATED MOSTLY BY PRACTICALITY OR EXPENDIENCY, SUCH AS ADVANCED AGE, DIMINISHED STATURE, OR CONTRARY OPINION. THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE

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THAT FACTIONALISM, WHICH HAS BECOME LESS AND LESS EVIDENT OVER THE PAST DECADE, WAS INVOLVED. A CHANGE OR TWO COULD BE EXPLAINED AS PART OF THE CONTINUING EFFORT TO TIGHTEN IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL DEFENSES AGAINST WESTERN INFLUENCES. THE REDUCTION WAS CERTAINLY NOT FOR PURPOSES OF "REJUVENATION" SINCE THE CHANGES LOWERED THE AVERAGE AGE OF THE POLITBURO ONLY FROM 63.6 TO 60.9 -- THUS LEAVING THIS TOP BODY TO RIVAL THE CPSU POLITBURO AS THE OLDEST GERONTO-

CRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE.

THERE WAS ONLY A SMALL TURNOVER OF ABOUT 15 PERCENT IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WHICH WAS EXPANDED TO 154 FROM 147 FULL MEMBERS. RATHER SURPRISINGLY, THOSEWHO LOST THEIR SEATS IN THE EXECUTIVE PARTY ORGANS RETAINED THEIR CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP. AMONG ITS NEW FACES WAS ZHIVKOV'S ACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL DAUGHTER, LYUDMILA, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR ART AND CULTURE.

4. THE LOSERS: MOST PROMINENT AMONG THE POLITBURO LOSERS WERE THE TWO INDIVIDUALS WITH THE MOST EDUCATION AND EXPER- TISE, DEPUTY PREMIER ZHIVKO ZHIVKOV (NO RELATIVE OF THE FIRST SECRETARY), AND STATE COUNCIL DEPUTY CHAIRMAN DR. IVAN POPOV.

-- ZHIVKO ZHIVKOV, AN ORIGINAL MEMBER OF TODOR ZHIVKOV'S TEAM, WAS THE REGIME'S LEADING ECONOMIC EXPERT AND FOR A WHILE, WAS THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC CZAR. HE HAS BEEN LOSING GROUND SINCE 1971, HOWEVER, WHEN HE WAS DEMOTED FROM FIRST DEPUTY TO DEPUTY PREMIER. ONLY THE WEEK BEFORE HIS DISMISSAL AT THE CONGRESS, HE HEADED THE BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION TO THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS AND LAST OCTOBER, HE WAS HONORED BY TODOR ZHIVKOV WITH THE DECORATION OF "HERO OF SOCIALIST LABOR."

-- DR. IVAN POPOV, A SCIENTIST AND A DEDICATED APOLITICAL TYPE, WAS THE FIRST HIGH-LEVEL BULGARIAN TO VISIT THE US IN 1971. LAST NOVEMBER, HE WAS TRANSFERRED FROM THE POST OF DEPUTY PREMIER TO THAT OF DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE HONORIFIC STATE COUNCIL.

HARDLY UNEXPECTED WAS THE DROPPING -- BECAUSE OF AGE (86)--
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OF TODOR PAVLOV, ONE OF THE PARTY'S FOUNDING FATHERS, ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND A HARDLINE PRO-SOVIET IDEOLOGUE.

THREE POLITBURO CANDIDATE-MEMBERS, ALL YOUNG AND "NEW STARS" WHO WERE PURGED AT THE JULY 1974 CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, DID NOT FARE AS WELL. IVAN ABADZHIEV, PRESENTLY AMBASSADOR TO ROMANIA, AND ONCE TODOR ZHIVKOV'S RIGHT-HAND MAN AND CONSIDERED A GOOD BET TO SUCCEED HIM AS PARTY HEAD, LOST HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE POST; SO DID KOSTADIN GYAUROV, ONCE PRESIDENT OF THE TRADE UNION FEDERATION. ONLY FORMER DEPUTY PREMIER VENELIN KOTSEV, NOW AMBASSADOR TO ALGERIA, WAS REELECTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

5. ONE NEW FACE IN THE SECRETARIAT: THE REDUCTION OF THE

SECRETARIAT, OF COURSE, HIT SOMEWHAT YOUNGER MEN. THOSE REMOVED WERE SECRETARY KONSTANTIN TELLALOV, IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN RELATIONS AND HERETOFORE CONSIDERED A RISING STAR; SECRETARY PENYU KIRATSOV, A SPECIALIST FOR THE INDUSTRIAL SECTOR; AND SECRETARIAT-MEMBER GEORGI BOKOV, A VETERAN PARTY HACK AND EDITOR OF THE PARTY DAILY "RABOTNICHESKO DELO.- THE REASONS FOR THEIR DISMISSAL AND THE DEVOLUTION OF THEIR FUNCTIONS REMAIN UNCLEAR AT THIS WRITING. ONLY ONE NEW APPOINTMENT WAS INVOLVED, THAT OF A SECRETARY, 40-YEAR-OLD OGNYAN DOYNOV. UNTIL THE CONGRESS, HE WAS NOT EVEN A CANDIDATE-MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. LAST NOVEMBER, DOYNOV REPLACED DR. POPOV AS ONE OF THE DEPUTY PREMIERS, REPORTEDLY ON THE BASIS OF AN ECONOMIC TREATISE HE HAD WRITTEN WHICH HAD COME TO TODOR ZHIVKOV'S ATTENTION. BECAUSE OF HIS NEW APPOINTMENT, DOYNOV WAS RELIEVED OF HIS POST AS DEPUTY PREMIER ON APRIL 23.

6. () AGE OF INCUMBENT; -- NEW

-- POLITBURO

OLD: MEMBERS NEW:

ALEKSANDUR LILOV	ALEKSANDUR LILOV (42)
BORIS VELCHEV	BORIS VELCHEV (61)
GRISHA FILIPOV	GRISHA FILIPOV (56)
ZHIVKO ZHIVKOV	
IVAN MIKHAILOV	IVAN MIKHAILOV (79)
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IVAN POPOV	
PENCHO KUBADINSKI	PENCHO KUBADINSKI (57)
STANKO TODOROV	STANKO TODOROV (55)
TANO TSOLOV	TANO TSOLOV (57)
TODOR ZHIVKOV	TODOR ZHIVKOV (64)
TODOR PAVLOV	
TSOLA DRAGOICHEVA	TSOLA DRAGOICHEVA (77)

-- CANDIDATE-MEMBERS:

DOBRI DZHUROV	DOBRI DZHUROV (59)
DRAZHA VULCHEVA	DRAZHA VULCHEVA (45)
KRUSTYU TRICHKOV	KRUSTYU TRICHKOV (52)
PEKO TAKOV	PEKO TAKOV (66)
PETUR MLADENOV	PETUR MLADENOV (44)
TODOR STOYCHEV	TODOR STOYCHEV (55)

-- SECRETARIAT

FIRST SECRETARY:TODOR ZHIVKOV TODOR ZHIVKOV (64)

SECRETARIES:ALEKSANDUR LILOV ALEKSANDUR LILOV (42)

-- BORIS VELCHEV BORIS VELCHEV (61)
-- GRISHA FILIPOV GRISHA FILIPOV (56)
-- IVAN PRUMOV IVAN PRUMOV (54)
-- KONSTANTIN TELLALOV OGNYAN DOYNOV -- (40)
-- PENYU KIRATSOV

MEMBERS: VLADIMIR BONEV VLADIMIR BONEV (58)

-- GEORGI BOKOV
-- GEORGI YORDANOV GEORGI YORDANOV (46)
-- MISHO MISHEV MISHO MISHEV (65)
-- SAVA DULBOKOV SAVA DULBOKOV (56)

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